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THE FEAR OF 'VICTORY'

Washington getting the jitters over public apathy to war and new Soviet peace 'threat'

"GOOD NEWS from Korea," the **Wall St. Journal** reported, "is sending chills down the backs of the top men in Washington." They had anticipated the Korean war would run well into 1951. Now they "fear the public's enthusiasm [for the war program] will dwindle." New taxes for defense and accelerated war preparations, would be hit by "grass roots apathy."

Pentagon correspondents said the military wants another $10,000,000,000 when Congress reconvenes and fear they won't get it if the Korean war ends. The Washington **Star** said:

> Recent soothing talk by Russia and the prospect of an early end to the Korean war crisis caused concern at the Pentagon today over a possible loss of popular support for the rearmament program.

The stock market was also "depressed," as the N.Y. **Times** put it, by reports of Korean peace.

PEACE OFFENSIVE: A renewed Soviet move for negotiation of U.S.-Russian tensions troubled Washington even more. Last week Soviet UN delegate Jacob Malik replied to an open letter to the U.S. and Soviet governments from the Maryland Peace Committee, signed by 1,000 persons. He said the Soviet government was prepared to meet with U.S. government leaders to settle issues peacefully. Malik, who received the Maryland committee in person, also said his government would pledge itself not to use the atom bomb first.

The committee got a different reception from U.S. authorities. A publicity man at the U.S. UN delegation office said the U.S. would not meet with Russia and would not pledge not to use the atom bomb first. A State Dept. spokesman said the Q. and A. smacked of the Stockholm Peace Appeal.

Malik's statement followed proposals for disarmament and Big Five negotiation made at the General Assembly by Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky. The proposals, distorted by the U.S. press and attacked by U.S. officials, hit home elsewhere.

TRY, TRY AGAIN: At the Assembly India's Sir Benegal Rau called on the foreign ministers of the U.S., Russia, France and Britain to meet now in New York to "discuss or re-discuss at least the most outstanding matters of disagreement between them." He said:

> "Perhaps such discussions have not been very fruitful in the past; they may fail again; but the attempt is worth making. Even if nothing else came of them, the ministers could at least reaffirm jointly what each of their countries has already affirmed separately in signing the Charter—namely, that they would settle all their international disputes by peaceful means, and the psychological effect upon an anxious world would be far from negligible. But this need not be the only step; other steps could follow."

Vishinsky won support also from Israel and Poland, who condemned plans to rearm Germany.

French Foreign Minister Schuman attacked the Soviet proposals as "propaganda" even as French Secretary of State Eugene Thomas, a Socialist, declared at Lille that France "must make a passionate effort to bridge the gulf between East and West" and "must ardently urge the old formula of general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament." French Premier Pleven's own newspaper struck the same note. **The Christian Witness**, official French Catholic organ, assailed the preventive war doctrine in the U.S. and demanded that the government "tell us precisely in black and white the commitments to which it has subscribed" under the Atlantic Pact.

ROUGH GOING: In New York the Atlantic Pact Council announced plans for an integrated European army, hinted that the U.S. had finally won agreement for West German rearmament. But in Washington officials admitted that their plan to rearm Europe was held up by European opposition. The N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 28, quoted this report to the Economic Cooperation Administration from a "seasoned observer":

> Western Europe regards itself as practically defenseless and whether from a feeling of apahty or futility, feels no strong inclination to do much about it.

A passage from a recent ECA report said:

> While the European recovery program has undoubtedly assisted in bringing about a spectacular economic recovery in Europe, it seems all too clear that it has not produced the political resolution that is also necessary to resist communism.

Hanson Baldwin in the N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 29, said the U.S. put the Germans in a strong bargaining position. He revealed a memorandum in which the German generals demanded, as the price for cooperation in the U.S. program, a "guarantee" against Soviet attack and "ultimate expansion of the defense of the West German Federal Republic to all of Germany (the boundaries of 1937) and to Austria." This meant the restoration of Hitler's Greater Reich.

TIGHTEN THAT BELT: Washington's answer to the growing peace movement at home and abroad was to exhort the nation not to "let down its guard" after the "Korean victory," and not to be taken in by "phony peace moves." Commerce Secy. Sawyer told Americans to "expect heavy and continued taxation" for a long time to come. The President said the arms expansion program must continue.

As though to underscore the government's determination not to relax world tension, the President named former

ROBERT A. LOVETT
Morgan batting for Morgan

Undersecretary of State Robert A. Lovett as Deputy Defense Secretary. Lovett, a partner of Brown Bros. Harriman (Morgan-Rockfeller), long associated with the German end of that firm's business, was a chief author of the cold war. He is also a former director of Morgan's N.Y. Life Insurance Co. Another Morgan man, Walter Gifford, president of Morgan's American Telephone & Telegraph Co., was appointed to succeed Lewis Douglas, also a Morgan man, as Ambassador to England.

What price 'victory'?

The 38th Parallel is geographic gibberish to this GI whose buddy has just been killed in action. As he weeps on the shoulder of another pal, a corpsman goes about the grim business of filling out casualty tags. The 81st Congress was unstinting in allocating funds guaranteed to kill more GI's. For its record on other, more constructive matters, see below.

The President is satisfied

But how do you feel?

By John B. Stone
GUARDIAN staff correspondent
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN told his press conference the 81st Congress had given him about everything he asked for; all in all, he was pretty well satisfied with it.

How much in the way of a "fair deal" does it take to satisfy him? Here is the record of the Congress that satisfied Truman:

It gave him a flat refusal to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law, a major plank in his campaign. It perpetuated mockery of the Constitution by smothering FEPC and anti-lynching and anti-polltax legislation in any form.

It quietly killed all aspects of Truman's not-so-bold new universal insurance program and health service. Not a peep out of the President.

It ignored his natural resources conservation bill.

It went through the motions of extending rent control but really all but insisted on rent decontrol. Truman and all of organized labor demanded in resounding terms a federal mortgage system for building small homes; Congress killed it.

In a row over religion in the House Labor Committee, it dealt a crushing blow to federal aid to education.

After big industry got behind it—being forced to pay pensions anyhow—Truman's Congress did broaden and strengthen in some respects the Social Security system. But in the face of very stern demands from Truman, it attached the Knowland Amendment which makes it impossible to enforce federal standards in payment of unemployment compensation.

The Congress that satisfied Truman spent $37,700,000,000 in the first session and $52,000,000,000 in the second, much of it on war. It passed a soak-the-poor tax bill increasing income taxes on small earnings by 20%. The President could take real satisfaction from that, for he was the man who blocked the drive to get an excess profits tax attached to the measure.

And of course there was the McCarran bill.

Congress passed that over the Truman veto after he had made his statement of general satisfaction. By vetoing it without a moment's delay Truman made it impossible for the millions who care about the Constitution to mobilize votes for sustaining the veto.

So it seems fair to wonder if that action, too, didn't leave President Truman pretty well satisfied.

W. E. B. DuBOIS: THE 1950 ELECTION— THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY POSITION

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A challenge to 'apathy'

LAST WEEK, after ten unrelenting years of fighting fascism and reaction in America, the weekly newsletter In Fact suspended.

Its editor, George Seldes, the greatest crusading journalist of our time bar none, gave the cause as "apathy" among American liberals. At one time, In Fact had a circulation of 176,000 at $1 a year. As recently as last January it had 73,000 at $2 a year. But, as editor Seldes remarked in his swansong editorial: ... ..

The most shocking thing I learned as a publisher was the fact that most magazines lose about half their circulation each year.

Confronted currently with a still-dwindling circulation, In Fact was faced with the choice of "taking advertising, finding some one to pay the deficit, or raising our price. . . . We decided against all three," Mr. Seldes told his remaining readers.

THE SUSPENSION of In Fact, "An Antidote for Falsehood in the Daily Press", is a tragedy at a time when fascism stands on the very threshold of America with scarcely a finger raised against it in the whole press of the nation.

On the national scene, only NATIONAL GUARDIAN now remains to wage this battle.

The GUARDIAN's circulation for the year ending this Oct. 1 was an average of 75,000 weekly. For the period ending Oct. 1, 1949, the comparable figure was 35,000.

THIS MONTH the GUARDIAN enters its third year of publication. Our Volume III Number 1 will be dated Oct. 25, with a special Anniversary Edition on progressive election campaigns.

The GUARDIAN's growth from scratch in October, 1948, is certainly significant in face of the tremendous and growing national hysteria. But our present circulation is still far short of what we need to become self-sustaining.

It must be doubled, even tripled, if the GUARDIAN is to be saved from eventually following In Fact into the limbo of the lost. And this multiplication process must get under way NOW.

WE SAY THIS NOW, to all readers, with the utmost candor. The staff of the GUARDIAN has experienced genuine privation during the past year, indeed for most of our 24 months of publication, to keep the paper in publication. A small (and lessening) handful of supporters have advanced large and medium financial support. Perhaps 10% of GUARDIAN readers have put their shoulders to the wheel to build circulation.

But the 90%—which probably includes you—have not yet budged. Mr. Seldes, in his farewell In Fact, reports a similar experience: there were the few readers who did much, and the majority who did nothing.

We hope Mr. Seldes is wrong in putting it down to apathy, which he calls "the curse of our civilization." In our own case we think perhaps the fault is ours. We may not yet have put urgently enough before you the continual jeopardy in which we stand.

So against this background we ask you anew: have you done everything YOU can to ensure the survival of the GUARDIAN?

It's good for pressitis!

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 MURRAY STREET
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THE MAILBAG

The B--l of R---s

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Last week our local I. P. P. chairman, Val Ware, found some dozen copies, beautifully printed, of the Bill of Rights (such as had been distributed from the Freedom Train by courtesy of the Standard Oil Co. of Calif.) dumped in the alley back of his house.

It would seem that, in the present period of hysteria, people are in haste to get rid of such subversive literature. Mr. Ware retrieved those that were in good condition and distributed them among his friends. Our Nancy has one boldly on display in her room. **Malvina Reynolds**

Name of the wolf

ASTORIA, ORE.

Let us look into the reasons for the anti-subversive laws now on the agenda. The so-called subversives are merely people who have found a wolf in the flock of sheep, and have unmasked him. They have cried out: "Lo, here is the wolf who has sent our sons out to die, kept us in want in a land of plenty, and planned atomic destruction for ourselves and our loved ones and people beyond the seas, while he posed as our benefactor."

The wolf, whose other name is Monopoly Capital, is attempting to silence his unmaskers by closing their newspapers, jailing their leaders, and intimidating their followers. But the warning cries of those who have found the wolf out will come up from the caves of the earth, and roll in on the waves of the ocean.

"The hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies."

"Your transgressions are discovered, so that in all your doings your sins do appear."—Isaiah 28:17, Ezek. 21:24. **Z. P.**

Camps, U. S. style

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Vishinsky and Malik walked out of a banquet when Gov. Dewey described Soviet Russia as a barbarous country which tortures from 12 to 15 million people in slave labor camps.

I am considerably more concerned about the American slave labor camps which the present Congress, servile to millionaire interests, has just initiated. Congress has authorized the imprisonment of people who have committed no offense, but who have merely exercised their constitutional rights. According to Congress, Americans may now be imprisoned for their political beliefs. **Vernon Ward.**

1848 and Korea

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Truman's sending troops into Korea reminds me of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. Francis Joseph was Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. The Hungarians decided to be independent of Austria, so in 1848, under the leadership of Louis Kossuth, they fought for liberty. They beat the Austrian army, so Russia sent 400,000 troops to subdue the Hungarian patriots.

Was it because Russia loved the Austrians that the Czar sent his army into Hungary? On the contrary, the Russians hated the Austrians, and the Austrians had no love for the Russians, but the Czar had to protect the divine right of kings.

It is the same with Truman and his Wall Street gang. They hate the Koreans, but Truman had to protect the divine right of capital and private enterprise, and American youth had to shed its blood so that the ammunition makers and the profiteers could make millions.

(Name withheld)

Good listening

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I'd like to ask Mr. Henry Wallace to listen to his Madison Sq. Garden speech sponsored by the Progressive Citizens of America on March 31, 1947. I have the recording in my home and have just listened to the words Mr. Wallace then spoke. **Nina Hammer**

No candle for truth

BALTIMORE, MD.

I have always protested the attempt to turn the war against Russia into a war of religion. I am sending you some quotations from an article by John Chang, Korean ambassador to the U.S., in the Catholic Review of July 7, 1950:

"The enemy is anti-Christ.

"Then say the communists: 'There shall be no God. Tear down the churches and destroy the altars! Light no candles in humility of spirit. Fall on no knee to give thanks for an infinity of blessings.' "

In a later issue the same Catholic Review reported that a delegation of Moslems to Russia found complete freedom of religion.

Lewis Bayard Robinson

Bundles for progress

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There is a rising awareness and with it a spirit of resistance among the American people to protect themselves against this calamity, which can be averted. The GUARDIAN is in the forefront of this struggle. As the battle rises higher the quality and effectiveness of the material in its pages keeps pace.

That is why I am ordering another 100 back numbers for my friends. I sincerely urge other readers to do likewise. **George Enders**

The Townsend Plan

EVERETT, WASH.

With reference to Olive Carroll's letter (Aug. 30), I suggest that she join the Townsend National Recovery Plan. This is a national organization devoted to obtaining not only federal pensions at 60 for all who retire from gainful employment, but also benefits for disabled or blind persons and widows with minor children. It is largely responsible for the increased benefits under the Social Security Act, meager though they be.

The address of the Townsend National Recovery Plan is 6875 Broadway, Cleveland 5, Ohio. I advise everyone to join a Townsend Club, including the younger generation, or at least subscribe to the Townsend Weekly. It will keep them informed on social welfare and taxation and what members of Congress are doing for and against pensions. **Margaret Walsh**

Four score and seven

BEREA, OHIO

I see by the GUARDIAN that a second World Peace Conference will be held in November and will adjourn on Nov. 19. That will be four score and seven years to the day from the date of Lincoln's Gettysburg address. **John Belknap**

Legal discrimination

NEW YORK, N. Y.

B'nai B'rith, the national Jewish service organization, has just released a survey in which more than half of the accredited law schools of this nation cooperated. It verified the existing discrimination against young Jewish law graduates. It found:

Jewish law graduates among the 2,325 law graduates of 1946 and 1947 earn less today than their non-Jewish classmates.

Proportionately twice as many Jews as non-Jews start their legal careers as law clerks—the lowest category.

Contrary to general belief, a lower percentage of Jews than non-Jews gets into government legal work.

J. B. Stanley

Perplexity admitted

CHARLESTON, W. VA.

Having celebrated my 60th birthday yesterday I feel mature and bold enough to admit perplexity about the principles we have been holding dear, about like another lawyer who sold his law books because they confused him on the law.

Those who scream most about preserving our way of life are obviously the ones trying to abolish our Bill of Rights.

Those who talk most about loyalty to our government say it shouldn't be allowed to do anything more because it is hopelessly inefficient.

They insist that a master and wage-slave system is preferable to partnership in enterprise "of the people, by the people, for the people," real democracy.

They abhor the idea of all the people inheriting from their Heavenly Father, and getting an equal chance in life.

They are willing to have our government pile up debts to buy from them destructive products, but vigorously oppose it purchasing constructive products for prosperity in peace.

Is it no longer possible to discuss with our fellow countrymen, the "citizen sovereigns," means to make God's kingdom on earth become "as it is in heaven," a paradise for all? **Horace S. Meldahl**

Others take heart

ALBANY, CALIF.

We wish to congratulate you on your very fine job in covering the present social, economic and political scene. We are encouraged greatly by the many articles which show the courage of other men and women throughout America in the struggle to build a society based upon decent human relations.

We are holding a party this week to bring together all registered I.P.P.'s in our community. We want to bring a copy of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN to everyone who comes.

Robert O'Brien
Financial Secretary
I. P. P. Club, Codornices Village

St. Maries at work

ST. MARIES, IDAHO

We have been very busy in work against the police state measure which threatens us and have sent many group and individual protests by letter and telegram. We have continued to work for signatures on the Peace Appeal and will continue to do so until the campaign closes. We have also all joined the Benewah Pension Union Local, which has had two well attended meetings and has circulated petitions effectively to restore part of the July cut.

The importance of NATIONAL GUARDIAN subscribers and readers cannot be adequately expressed, it seems to me. **Louise Dennis**

Bury the living

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Irwin Shaw has withdrawn from public presentation his anti-war play Bury the Dead. The author "fears that this play, written some time ago, might be used in 'peace' propaganda."

I understand that Picasso has ordered the Guernica mural covered during the present crisis in order not to offend the Congressmen who voted the recent loan to Franco. I also hear that (somewhat posthumously) Mr. Jefferson desires paragraphs deleted from the Declaration of Independence in order to avoid any conflict with laws passed by House and Senate. The rumor has also reached me that the Gideon Society wishes to remove from circulation certain portions of its publication that might give aid and comfort to Mr. Malik. **E. B.**

The monstrous evil

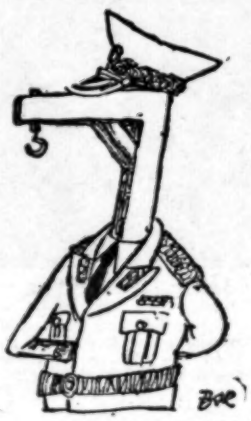
THE PLAINS, VA.

I have received a copy of your paper. It is indeed heartening to know that such a publication exists. May God prosper your courageous effort in defense of your country against this monstrous evil which now confronts us. If the people can only be aroused to the true nature of it, they will rise in rebellion and save themselves. **Elwyn Turner**

WAR & PEACE

N. Korea invaded as UN talks; Rhee butchers busy

THROUGH THE SMOKING, rubble-strewn streets of Seoul on Sept. 29 Gen. MacArthur and President Rhee of South Korea rode in a victory procession. At a ceremony at the Capitol building MacArthur raised the Stars and Stripes and officially restored the city to Rhee "in behalf of the UN." He concluded with the Lord's Prayer. [The main religions in Korea are Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism, and of the peoples represented in UN, less than half are Christian.]



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw
"The Conqueror"

Only the day before in Seoul, according to Marguerite Higgins in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** the streets

> were cluttered with Communists and Communist suspects kneeling on torn pavements with hands behind their heads—the customary posture of prisoners taken by Koreans. Among those kneeling were screaming mothers with babies tied to their backs, old and young men, even 17-year-old girls. In a number of cases the Marines had had to take over the guarding of the political suspects because the "working over" given them by South Korean police and officers had been too enthusiastic, even for the tough American Marines.

USELESS SLAUGHTER: The United Press quoted Army and Marine officers who said the city could have been taken "without the heavy loss in lives and property paid for its capture." One officer said the destruction was due to "international politics." A colonel said:

> "A triumphant entry into the city was needed as soon as possible, and we gave it to them, but it cost us and the Koreans plenty."

The same UP dispatch described "the coolness of welcome received by the liberators." A few moments after MacArthur and Rhee left the Capitol building, police discovered time bombs near where they stood. Snipers were still active in the ruined city. The attitude of the Koreans to Rhee (described by **Newsweek,** Sept. 25, 1950, as ranging "from indifference to contempt") had not changed.

WORST IN 4,000 YEARS: Seek Hun Kimm, patriarch of the Korean community in the U. S., last week told the N. Y. **Compass:**

> "We have had bad ones during the past 4,000 years, but none to compare with him [Rhee]. He is cruel; he has killed and imprisoned thousands of patriots; he has introduced gangsterism in Korea; he has allied himself with the Koreans who got rich by working with the Japanese; and now he needs UN troops to keep himself in power. . . . We suspect that for a time he was a Japanese agent. . . . When he went back to Korea after the war, he swiftly formed an alliance with the Japanese collaborators. . . . The Koreans will keep fighting as long as Rhee is in power. Today the alternative before the UN is: drop Rhee or annihilate the Korean people."

Charles Krutzner in a dispatch to the N. Y. **Times** from Taegu wrote:

> Fear of infiltrators led to the slaughter of hundreds of South Korean civilians, women as well as men, by some U. S. troops and police of the Republic.

THE CHINESE EXAMPLE: Walter Sullivan wrote Oct. 2 in the **Times** that the North Koreans began preparing three months ago for guerrilla war. He said:

> The Korean Reds appear to have been following the formula employed by the Chinese Communists when faced with overwhelming force. They have reportedly been distributing rice land to the landless peasants and then arming and training them to defend their new property. . . . The arming of landless peasants in South Korea began shortly after the Red Armies marched in at the end of June, according to official Communist reports.

U. S. sources in Korea admitted that most of the North Korean army had been able to retreat behind the 38th Parallel, and that part of it had "melted into the countryside." By the week-end South Korean forces had arrived at the Parallel and brought to a head the dilemma confronting the UN: to cross or not to cross.

WHAT IS PERMITTED? Before the General Assembly could act, the Security Council would have to drop the Korean question from its agenda, since both cannot act on the same question at the same time. Soviet delegate Malik made it clear he would not permit this. Therefore U. S. delegates made voluble claims that the Security Council's Korean resolution of June 25 covered everything, including crossing the 38th Parallel. This was like claiming the Bible or the Koran contains provisions for regulating automobile traffic. The June 25 resolution simply calls for immediate cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of North Korean forces to the 38th Parallel; asks the UN Commission in Korea to communicate its recommendations and keep the Security Council informed on the execution of the resolution; and asks UN members to assist the UN in executing the resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to North Korea.

California Eagle

The June 27 resolution contains nothing which would give a basis for crossing the Parallel. Backing the U. S. attempt to sanction air invasion of North Korea were Britain and Canada. Britain introduced a resolution in the Political Committee of the Assembly which jibed with a U. S. plan (submitted a little later) except that it called for postwar elections in all Korea; the U. S. wants elections only in the North. The U. S. plan, backing the Rhee government to the limit, would give the U. S. a free hand in Korea.

ACTION BEFORE WORDS: While the Assembly delegations debated, South Korean forces under the command of U. S. Gen. Walton Walker invaded North Korea. They marched 15 minutes before Gen. MacArthur broadcast a surrender-or-complete-destruction ultimatum to North Korea. North Korea did not reply.

In Peking, China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, just before the crossing of the Parallel, declared that the U. S. was "the worst enemy" of China and said of the Chinese people:

> "They will not be afraid to fight aggression in defense of peace. They will not tolerate foreign aggression and will not stand aside should the imperialists wantonly invade the territory of their neighbor."

He predicted that the Koreans, through "tactics of a prolonged war of resistance," would win final victory. China's President Mao Tse-tung received a message from North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung saying Korea would "continue the fight to ultimate victory under support of the Chinese people."

CHOU AND NEHRU: China won a victory in the UN when the Security Council, over U. S. opposition, voted 7 to 4 to invite China's representatives after Nov. 15 to a hearing on Peking's

(Continued on following page)

MAX WERNER

Why don't the Russians attack?

WESTERN DIPLOMATS, PROBING FOR THE MOTIVES of Soviet policy, are at a loss. The military weakness of Western Europe is absolute, while in Western evaluation Soviet military power is at the peak of its strength—immeasurably superior to that of Hitler-Germany in 1939. Soviet fighting forces today number at least three times more infantry divisions, five times more artillery and planes, 10 to 15 times more tanks. In addition they possess super-weapons, the A-bomb and the guided missiles, which Hitler-Germany did not have in 1939.

With a military superiority against the West of which Hitler could not even dream, why do the Russians not attack? The question is being heatedly debated in Washington, London and Paris. We cannot imagine Hitler having the military superiority the Soviet Union now has and not attacking; we cannot imagine Hitler not rushing to the rescue of a weak ally under serious military threat, as North Korea is now. Obviously the situation is completely different from 1939, in its political aspects, too.

PEACEFUL ACTIONS: The clue must be sought in the acts rather than in the statements of Moscow.

A pragmatic and factual U.S. approach should consider that the Soviet government is acting as if there were no war danger at all for many years to come: tremendous investments are being made in long-range projects like large-scale industrialization, construction of big dams, irrigation and reforestation, rebuilding of cities.

Big new dams at the lower Dnieper, at the Middle Volga, and in Eastern Siberia, irrigation of Central Asia, reforestation on the eastern bank of the Volga — all this work of reconstruction would be senseless, would be pure waste, if the Soviet government held war inevitable in the near future. These projects are perfect A-bomb targets.

PEACE IS NECESSARY: The Soviet idea appears to be that Russia can be made attack-proof only by economic power, by the full development of modern industry. And this decade of the fifties is decisive for Soviet industrialization. The modernization of Soviet economy will not be accomplished before 1960. Soviet policy is bent first of all on the industrial race with the west, on building up economic power. It is unlikely that the Soviet leadership would be willing to interrupt and endanger this gigantic work of reconstruction by invoking the devastation of war.

The question is not whether the U.S.S.R. is ready to grant peace to the Atlantic coalition. It needs peace for itself to carry out the two forthcoming five-year plans, as it needed peace in the thirties to carry out the two first five-year plans.

It is this policy which dictates the supreme rule to Soviet diplomacy and strategy. This policy underwrites neither pacifism nor aggression. It is the line of long-range planning for a decade which determines Soviet foreign policy, and not the threat of the atomic bomb.

ATOMIC ILLUSIONS: There was much discussion about the "deterrent effect" of Western rearmament. This "deterrent effect" should not be over-estimated. The projected Western land rearmament, still being on paper, and even on paper planned on small scale, certainly cannot deter the massive Soviet superiority.

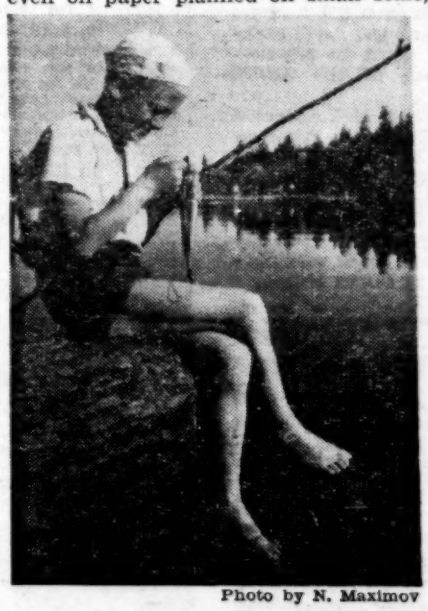


Photo by N. Maximov

Huck Finn?

No. Huck Finnov, alias Kolya Kordatov, a young fisherman from P. S. No. 19 in the city of Gorky, having a whale (sorry) of a good time at the Zhdanov Pioneer Camp. Pretty warlike, isn't he?

As for the atomic bomb, the Soviet strategists undoubtedly take its threat seriously; but they are convinced, as are the majority of U.S. strategists, that it cannot defeat the Soviet bloc. Besides, conquests reaped by a successful land offensive would more than compensate the Soviet Union for the losses from atomic bombings.

The industry of Western Europe, the oil wells of the Middle East and the raw materials of South-East Asia would more than offset the damage of atomic destruction. Those who believe in the "deterrent effect" of the atomic bomb silently presume that the U.S.S.R. is unwilling to swap ruins of the industrial Donets Basin for the steel mills of the Ruhr, destruction in the Baku oil region for the oil riches of the Middle East.

THE DIFFERENCE: Basically they are right. Only it is **not** the atomic bomb which restrains Soviet policy, but its own long-range calculation. Atomic threat would not have stopped Hitler. Hitler-Germany went to war because it was bent on economic conquest. A Hitler memorandum of 1937 stated bluntly that the war economy of the Third Reich would suffocate without the foodstuffs and raw materials of the East.

Soviet economy, however, does not depend on war conquest for its developments; therefore Soviet policy does not depend on war.

We know now that in 1939 the Soviet Union was potentially stronger than Hitler-Germany. Nevertheless it preferred the risk of being attacked to risks of its own aggression. In the decisions of Soviet strategy military arguments against aggression play their role, too. Soviet military doctrine is based on protracted effort in a long war. Aggression cannot start without belief in blitzkrieg, since it makes no sense to attack in order to wage a long, expensive and dangerous war. But Soviet strategy rejects scornfully the blitzkrieg as an illusion and a crime against sound military planning.

38°.....38°

(Continued from preceding page)

charges of U.S. aggression against Formosa. The date obviously was fixed to follow the U.S. elections. The U.S. seemed to be gambling that China, with the door now open to its admission to the UN, would not intervene in North Korea. But Chou's words left the question in doubt.

In New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru at a special press interview asked that UN troops halt at the Parallel. Korea's government must be selected by its own people, he said, and means of peaceful settlement must be explored before the troops cross. India's role is crucial; without its support invasion of North Korea could be, as the N.Y. **Times** said, "disastrous to the UN cause."

For the Asians, who remember that the U.S. dropped the atom bomb twice on Asiatics; that the UN for the first time in history applied sanctions to Asiatics; that 475,000,000 Asiatics are being kept from a seat in the Security Council, the crossing of the Parallel by the Western Powers could only be interpreted as an act to prevent Asia from determining its own future.

RUSSIANS CONCERNED: From Moscow an AP dispatch reported that Russia would view "with grave concern" the crossing of the Parallel. Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky at the UN had no comment. The Russians were still seeking a peaceful settlement in Korea—this was the attitude of the Soviet delegation.

Joseph Alsop in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** declared that at any time in the Korean war the "smallest Russian or Chinese intervention, which might well have been dressed up or concealed, would have tipped the balance against us." Since there had been no such intervention, he said, the U.S. was perfectly safe in invading North Korea.

Peace army gains; U.S. women mobilize

IN SAN FRANCISCO last week a mother whose son had just begun school wrote to a newspaper:

> After his third day I asked him what he had done that day. He sat down on his heels, curled his arms around his head and said, "We learned to sit like this in case the windows break." A few days later he came home with a tag around his neck bearing his name and address. He explained: "That's if a war gets me in the street, people will know what my name is." At this his smaller brother was prompted to say: "Mommy, I don't want airplanes to get us all dead. I want to go where there isn't any sky."

Dr. Joseph Fletcher, professor at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass., who had attended a meeting of the World Defenders of Peace in Prague, told a Los Angeles audience that coming back to the U.S. was like "coming home to a lunatic asylum."

DISTINGUISHED NAMES: But the Peace Information Center in New York announced that in the last two weeks more than 100 prominent Americans had added their signatures to the World Peace Appeal. Among them were:

> Bishop G. W. Taylor of Virginia; Elizabeth Hawes, fashion designer and author; Rabbi Henry Cohen (retired) of the Congregation B'nai Israel, Galveston, Tex.; Mrs. M. A. B. Fuller, president of Women's National Baptist Convention of America; Dr. Mark A. Dawber, retired executive secretary of Home Mission Council of North America; Rep. Vito Marcantonio; Dr. Mordecai Kaplan, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York; Lewis Bayard Robinson, member of American Mathematical Society.

Many sent messages with their signatures. Dr. George Dahl, professor emeritus of Yale University School of Divinity, said of the atom bomb:

> For our own sake and for the world's sake we must prevent the use of this stupid and murderous weapon of universal destruction.

Helen L. Alfred of the Peace Publications Fund, South Orange, N. J., wrote:

Cheap enough

Before an audience of Big Business executives in Los Angeles last week, Brig. Gen. William S. Roberts, the man who trained the South Korean army, suggested a new policy for U.S. intervention in Asia: use American-trained Asian troops, "not white men." He said:

"Why could we not use Filipinos? Or Japanese? ... We could pay them as little as $5 a month and a bowl of rice a day—no fight, no rice! ... The Korean makes a good soldier, though he may do a little stealing. ... They've come to like us Westerners in a way because we're somebody to steal from. ... It is my conviction that only as a last resort should white men be sent to Asia to fight."

Two days after the speech, it was announced that Gen. Roberts was being relieved of the white man's burden. He was retiring.

> It is to be hoped that peace-loving Americans in all parts of the country will continue undaunted to sign this appeal for peace, for national security through international collaboration.

THE WOMEN VOTE: From New York City a young organization, American Women of Peace, was sending out thousands of little blue cards, each a ballot entitled Peace on Earth. Addressed to Pres. Truman, they read:

> I am a woman. I am an American. This is my vote for peace. I support peaceful mediation of the Korean conflict through the United Nations. I support the banning of all atomic weapons by all nations.

In launching the poll, Dr. Clementina Paolone, chairman of American Women for Peace and American Labor Party candidate for lieutenant governor of N.Y. State, said:

> "American women recognize the violent danger to our children if we do not act this minute for peace. We who want peace are in the overwhelming majority. No sacrifice we make now, while there is still time to make our dreams of peace a reality, is too great."

Due soon in the U.S. from Japan for

PROF. HIDEKI YUKAWA
Not death, but culture

a lecture tour was Dr. Hideki Yukawa, physicist and Nobel Prize winner. He was bringing with him a peace manifesto signed by more than 20 leading scholars and prominent intellectuals of Kyoto City, Japan. Addressed to the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, it said:

> We oppose the atomic bomb which destroys human life, and hope that atomic energy will be used to promote the culture and welfare of mankind.

SLAV PEACE PARLEY: The opening session (public invited) of the three-day Slavic-American Conference on Peace was scheduled for 7:30 p.m. Friday, Oct. 6, at the Carnival Room, Hotel Capitol, 8th Av. and 51st St., New York City. Main items are a protest against the renazification and rearmament of Germany and a proposal for mediation of the Korean war. Speakers will be Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Leo Krzycki, president of the American Slav Congress, Rev. J. W. Darr Jr., Howard Fast, C. B. Baldwin, secretary of the Progressive Party.

There will be Slav music and dances. A dinner for delegates and guests ($6.50) will be held at the hotel Oct. 7 at 7 p.m.

FREEDOMS

Truman to pick subversive board; protests mount

GOVERNMENT PRESSES last week were rolling off thousands of new forms—registration blanks for use under the new Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act). But no one in the capital would predict when the first one might be filled out; nothing would happen until Pres. Truman named a five-man Subversive Activities Control Board. White House press secretary Ross said he plans to make the appointments as soon as possible.

On Thursday the President made references to the new law which seemed sharply at odds with his message explaining his veto. He implied that the bill, with the exception of the provision requiring the public listing of all defense installations, was not unacceptable to him.

But others were already organizing a mass campaign to repeal the entire law. Former Rep. Jerry O'Connell, head of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, announced a national conference to be held after the elections.

In New York City, 2,000 trade unionists at a Manhattan Center rally pledged a fight for repeal.

TEPID LABOR LEADERS: But chances that top U.S. labor leaders would fight spiritedly for repeal seemed dim, GUARDIAN's Washington correspondent John B. Stone wrote:

> As for organized labor, it sees the danger in a detached sort of way, but more immediate political considerations will keep the big organizations from doing anything which might appear militant. A man in John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers told the GUARDIAN that many Congressmen who voted for the McCarran bill are old friends of the UMWA and have stood by it in many tough battles. He cited Sen. Matthew Neeley (D-W. Va.) as an example. "Certainly," he said, "we are not going gunning for a man like that." A high CIO spokesman said every attorney in the organization agreed the law was outrageous, and added: "But what can you do about it?" It became apparent during the week that any realistic drive to repeal the law will have to come from the rank and file of outraged citizens and those leaders who are always in the vanguard of fights for civil liberties.

Some Congressmen were working to head off effective repeal by preparing substitute measures to be offered when Congress reconvenes Nov. 27. Rep. Cannon (D-Mo.) had one that would eliminate the registration features of the present law, but would allow the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus to intern "subversives" in time of invasion or insurrection. Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.) would be ready to press for his bill permitting internment whenever U.S. armed forces are engaged, as in Korea. Rep. Celler (D-N.Y.) announced he had asked the Dept. of Justice to draft a new Communist-control bill. Sen. Lehman (D-N.Y.) said he would fight either for repeal or substantial modification of the law. Sen. McCarran (D-Nev.) said that his group would not consider any changes.

ACLU READY TO FIGHT: The American Civil Liberties Union said it was ready to assist in court tests of the new law and asked

> all Americans not to let the passage of this act cause a general cancellation of free speech and other civil liberties either by fear of exercising one's own rights, or by suppression of the rights of others.

Influential newspapers editorialized against the bill. This is what some of them said:

> **CHICAGO DAILY NEWS:** "We can hope that respect for the Constitution inherited from an earlier day will prevent the terrible abuses this bill invites. . . . In the debates, the Bill of Rights was treated with ridicule and contempt."

JERRY O'CONNELL
Just begun to fight

> **PORTLAND OREGONIAN:** "We do not believe it (the law) will survive the adverse reaction of the people for very long."
>
> **CORNELL DAILY SUN:** "A howling and obstinate error."
>
> **ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH:** "A gross miscarriage of representative government."

The St. Louis **Star-Times** hoped the government would not enforce it. The N.Y. **Times** called it "self-defeating, diversionary and undiscriminating."

In Rochester, N.Y., the Rev. David Rhys Williams, minister of the First Unitarian Church, told his congregation the new law is "a worse disaster than Pearl Harbor."

TOTALITITIS: At the week-end the State Dept. was reported to be "squirming" over implementation of the clause in the new law under which "advocates of any form of totalitarianism" are barred from the U.S. As the term is generally used, many of the governments Washington is least anxious to offend are "totalitarian." The Latin American military dictatorships were not being mentioned, but before final instructions were issued to U.S. consuls abroad some formula had to be found under which Spanish Fascists, Yugoslav Communists and others could emerge as non-"totalitarian."

There was reason to squirm: anti-communist crusaders masquerading as democrats had got caught in the web they themselves spun when they adopted the decoy word "totalitarian" to equate socialism falsely with fascism. As late as 1934 there was no such word in the English dictionary. The GUARDIAN pointed out in Dec., 1948, that the word "totalitaer" was coined in 1933 by Prof. Schmidt-Dorotitch, supreme adviser on state law to Adolf Hitler, to describe a state embracing the whole of society under dictatorship imposed from the top. Since this was the kind of state Hitler wanted the term was one of praise, and nothing was further from the mind of its inventor than that Russia or any other socialist country could qualify for the compliment.

Jackson upholds Communists' bail

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE JACKSON makes no secret of his dislike of communism, but last week he reversed a lower court and ordered, on strict constitutional grounds, that bail be continued for ten top Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act. He rejected a government plea that the defendants "should not be at large in this hour of national crisis" with this argument:

> ". . . the right of every American to equal treatment before the law is wrapped up in the same constitutional bundle with those of these Communists. If in anger or disgust with these defendants we throw out the bundle, we also cast aside protection

(Continued on following page)

Viet Nam 5 years after: A literate, spirited people defy colonialists

By Tabitha Petran

TWO DAYS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK of the Korean war, the Paris paper **Le Monde**—semi-official voice of the French Foreign Office—published an article urging France to get out of the Indo-China war which had drained its manpower and money resources to the limit.

Since 1946, when France violated its agreement with Vietnamese independence leader Ho Chi-minh recognizing Viet Nam as a free state within the French Union, the "dirty war' has cost France about half a billion dollars a year, tens of thousands of casualties in its 150,000-man army in Viet Nam, almost its entire yearly munitions production, and the unity of its own people.

The result: the Viet Nam People's Republic and its army are stronger today than ever before. But in the Korean war's first week, President Truman proclaimed direct U.S. intervention in Viet Nam, launching an accelerated program of military and economic aid to the French puppet government of Emperor Bao Dai.

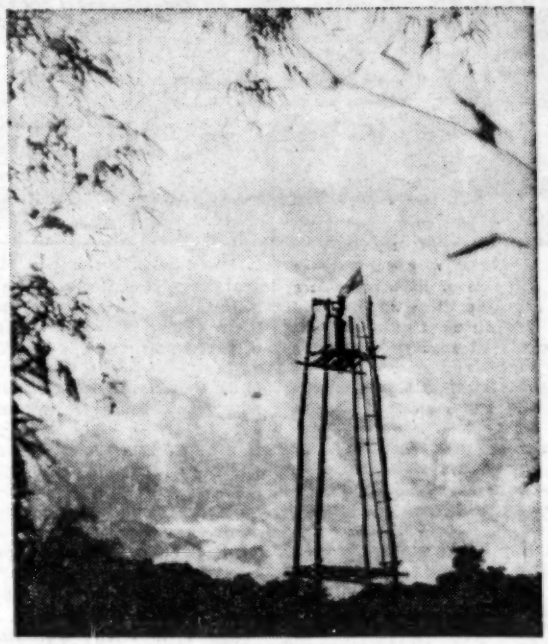
HASTEN THE COMING: U.S. intervention gave an enormous spur to a nation-wide collection then underway for the "People's Fund for Hastening the Coming of a General Counter-Offensive." One village collected 9,000,000 piastres in two days. This month the Viet Nam Independence Army captured two French outposts near the China border in what may be the prelude to this general offensive.

These were the achievements counted by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam last month, on the fifth anniversary of its independence:

Out of guerrilla units and "self-defense groups," armed with bamboo spears and ancient rifles in 1946, it has forged a regular army with artillery units, engineers and signal corps and comparatively modern equipment, supported by local troops and partisan detachments some of which are stronger now than the regular army was two years ago. Deep in the forests, munitions plants, equipped with now worn-out machines evacuated from the towns in 1946, produce grenades, mines, machine guns, anti-tank rifles, even howitzers and mortars.

RICE FOR UNCLE HO: Commanded by a former Hanoi school teacher, General Giap, the Viet Nam Independence Army has fought what the GUARDIAN's Max Werner has called "a high-class guerrilla war, dispersed but planned and coordinated." The map of the war, he wrote recently, "looks like the skin of a leopard, with the spots of the guerrillas spread all over the country but with the spots usually on the move."

The Army, according to Gen. Giap, is now accumulating the means not only to capture but to hold enemy strong points and to concentrate large numbers of troops for the offensive. Wherever it goes, it organizes a political administration.



THE VOICE OF FREEDOM
Broadcasting the news to the peasants

Frustrated on the battlefield, the French have tried to starve out the Vietnamese by systematic destruction of crops in the liberated areas (tanks are used to destroy the paddy fields) and forced collections in the occupied areas. Peasants caught taking rice from occupied to liberated areas are summarily executed, their heads exhibited on poles along the road. But they continue to reap "rice for Uncle Ho" at night, slipping through the blockade to carry it to the liberated areas. And in contrast to the chronic famine experienced in peace-time under the French, the people have enough to eat.

PEASANTS ENTER THE GATE: In the liberated North where the hard soil yielded only one crop a year, peasants this year attempted to get two as in the rich Delta land of the South. Peasants, mainly women since the men are fighting, clear forests and jungles to plant maize and manioc plants, and to fulfill "Uncle Ho's" order: "Every organism must be self-sufficient in vegetables and poultry."

In 1945, 90% of the people of Viet Nam were illiterate—the heritage of 80 years of French rule. Declaring that "illiteracy is as dangerous an enemy as the French invader," President Ho issued a decree in 1945 which said:

> **Within one year, all Vietnamese over 8 years of age should know how to read and write Quoc Ngu (the national language). After this period, a Vietnamese over 8 who does not know how to read and write will be fined.**

Today illiteracy for the country as a whole has been cut down to 20%, in some areas wiped out altogether. The fight against illiteracy was carried on even in the occupied areas. Leo Figueres, editor of the Paris paper **Avant-Garde** who made a 20,000-kilometer trip through Viet Nam by foot, horse and plane last spring, wrote:

> **In one little town I set out, with a few friends, to visit the market place. The market does not open until nightfall, when air raids need no longer be feared. It lies on the outskirts of the town. Two gates give access to it: one small, the other large. The larger gate is topped by an inscription in big letters. Only peasants and housewives who are able to read the inscription may pass through here. Those who cannot read are sent around to the smaller gate, known as "the gate of ignorance," which leads not straight to the market, but to a place where reading and writing are taught. Such is one of many methods by which the illiterates are urged to study. Landowners are ordered to teach the laborers to read and write. If they fail to organize such studies, they are deprived of labor power for several days. The People's Culture Organization sends these laborers to special literacy classes and charges the cost to the employer concerned.**

LIGHT IN THE FOREST: The People's Republic has established an elementary school in every community, a secondary school in every district center, a university (with more students than the one in Hanoi) in the forest and a National School of Arts and Literature, also in the forest.

It has spurred the development of a native industry. Figueres saw printing shops, paper mills, chemical plants, spinning mills, some enterprises employing over a thousand workers. Workers participate in committees which run the factories. Agrarian reforms—reduction of land rent by 25%, and of interest on loans, distribution to poor peasants of land belonging to the French and to traitors—have increased agricultural production three and four times in some areas.

The revolution in Indo-China, as in China, though led by Communists is a national independence movement embracing nearly all elements in the country. The Foreign Minister of the People's Republic is a Socialist, the Finance Minister a Communist; the Home Affairs Minister, a former viceroy under the empire; the Minister of War Disabled and Veterans, a Catholic; the National Assembly Vice-Chairman, a Catholic priest. President Ho Chi-minh is a cultured, widely-traveled patriot who has fought nearly half a century for his people's independence.

(Continued from preceding page)

> **for the liberties of more worthy critics who may be in opposition to the government of some future day."**

Also rejected was a government argument that speeches and writings of the defendants since the trial "constitute a continuation of the conspiracy of which they have been convicted":

> **"If all that convicted these defendants was such utterances as have followed their conviction, there would indeed be doubt about its validity, for I am unable to find in them any word of advocacy of violence either to overthrow the government or of forcible resistance to its policy."**

Jackson implied that he would favor a Supreme Court review of the case. He also warned of the "disastrous effect on the reputation of American justice . . . if this country should imprison this handful of Communist leaders on a conviction that our own highest court would confess to be illegal."

Prof. apologizes for not being fired

UNIVERSITY of California Prof. Robert A. Gordon opened his freshman economics class with a little speech that brought heart to many U.S. educators:

> **"I do not appear here with any enthusiasm, I cannot say, as I have for so many years, that I am proud to teach here at the University of California. Actually, I feel apologetic I haven't been fired."**

His was the latest defiance in a fight that has lasted well over a year against a Board of Regents ruling that all UC employees must sign non-Communist oaths. There were still 27 undaunted teachers who refused to sign; 18 of these were joined in a court action seeking a writ to overturn the Regents' ruling; the court promised a decision between Nov. 13 and Dec. 13. All were barred from teaching.

From around the country support was coming to them from top educators. Pledging assistance by "any means at our command," Albert Einstein, Dr. Robert Oppenheimer and 10 other scholars of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton wrote the UC Academic Senate:

> **We trust that for the sake of academic freedom in the University of California and in all American universities, the Academic Senate will vigorously defend its traditional policies and principles.**

OATHS & STUFF: Next day 292 faculty members of Princeton sent a similar letter; others followed from 87 Harvard educators and from the entire faculty of 140 at Swarthmore College. Pledges of support were promised from Yale, Columbia, New York University and Oberlin College. The UC Academic Assembly itself, in its first meeting of the new school year with 750 members in attendance, adopted a strong resolution censuring the Board of Regents. The case was promised even wider national attention by publication of a book on it by Prof. George R. Stewart, **The Year of the Oath.**

Meanwhile in Sacramento a special session of the California legislature voted to bar reporters for the **Peoples World,** left-wing daily, from press facilities in the capitol; adopted a loyalty oath, retroactive to V-J day, for all public employes in the state; decreed a death penalty for sabotage. It prepared to consider next a state law requiring registration of "subversives." A pension bill was tabled.

In Los Angeles, Indian Day was celebrated by stressing "the importance of the Indians turning a deaf ear to any and all subversive entreaties that might come their way"; Hollywood studio workers were summoned to mass meetings to hear communism denounced by Louis B. Mayer, Jack Warner and other authorities. Thompson C. Lawrence of the Committee Against Loyalty Checks was fired from the Dept. of Agriculture for refusing to answer questions about his political affiliations.

POLITICS

PP rallies behind Packinghouse leader

ILLINOIS LAW REQUIRES 10,000 signatures to place a party on the ballot. More than five times that number signed Progressive Party petitions but the PP will not be on the ballot statewide.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars challenged the signatures; the electoral board, composed of Democrats who feared the PP might hold the balance of power, sustained the challenges. Federal Judge Mitchell Igoe last week heard the PP's plea but said his court lacked jurisdiction.

But there was one breach in the politicians' wall against the PP, and through it the party moved last week to pour all its campaign strength in time, energy and money. In Chicago's First Congressional District Sam Parks will carry the PP standard for the state: he is running for congressman against William L. Dawson, Truman man and one of the two Negroes now in Congress.

MOOD IS MILITANT: Most of Chicago's First District is militant, working-class and Negro. So is Parks. He is secretary-treasurer of District 1, United Packinghouse Workers. He was a leader in the 10-week-old bloody packers' strike in 1948. Ready to strike Wilson's again, the Packinghouse workers in the district are in the mood for a militant candidate.

SAM PARKS
The concentration point

Parks-for-Congress campaign headquarters have been opened in Room 311, 306 E. 43d St. Chicagoans can report for campaign duty in person. Progressives everywhere can send in their contributions.

From his headquarters Parks last week denounced Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas, running for re-election in Illinois for his support of the McCarran Bill which Parks called treason to democracy.

(Continued on following page)

NEW YORK

ALP protest cuts Anders' greeters

"Let's not stop at Korea."
"The 38th Parallel and Beyond—To Moscow."

THOSE WERE the war cries on the banners of New York's Pulaski Day paraders. Casimir Pulaski, Polish hero of the American Revolution and reason for the annual parade, was not mentioned in a single placard. The day had been turned into Anders Day.

In the reviewing stand on the steps of the New York Public Library stood guest-of-honor Gen. Wladislaw Anders, notorious anti-Semite, formerly in command of the pro-fascist Polish Army in Exile. With him on the stand stood Sen. Lehman, Democrat running for re-election, and his Republican opponent Lt. Gov. Hanley; Gov. Dewey and his Democratic opponent, Rep. Lynch; also Acting Mayor Impellitteri.

In a message to an Anders banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria, Lehman called him "one of the most illustrious" of Poland's fighting men.

ALP DISSENTS: The American Labor Party had made Anders Day appearances a test for the candidates. Full credit to the ALP was given for the absence of Republican and Democratic mayoralty candidates Edward Corsi and Ferdinand Pecora. Both had accepted invitations before the ALP opened fire on Anders. Francis J. Wazeter, president of the Pulaski Memorial Day Committee, charged that both had been "scared away" by left-wing propaganda.

The ALP kept up the campaign on Sunday night when over 1,000 picketed the Anders dinner at the Waldorf. From the upper stories of the hotel came the only trouble: occasional showers of water and once a drinking glass.

The Police Dept. shakeup

As U.S. Attorney, Thomas F. Murphy had won the conviction of Alger Hiss just as John F. X. McGohey had obtained the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders. McGohey got a judgeship. Murphy got nothing. He turned in his resignation. Then came his reward: he was made New York City police commissioner to take over in the face of the city's greatest police scandal—in which high-ranking officials were called "associates" by big-money gamblers.

Last week Murphy broke every plain-clothesman in the vice and gambling squads, sending all 336 back into uniform. Demotions reached only as high as captains, though, and touched few of those.

ALP BRASS TACKS: Paul Ross called Murphy "nothing but a witch-hunter" and formally petitioned Gov. Dewey for another Seabury investigation. Ross said:

> "The basic problem that must be solved—and can never be solved by police shake-ups—is this: Who are the politicians who make the selling of protection by police officers possible? Who are the business men and underworld bankers who provide the vast sums with which police protection is bought? Only an intensive investigation, free of control or influence by local politicians and local police, can be effective to reach the top echelon politicians, businessmen and underworld bankers."

VOTE FOR BLABBER MOUTH
WHEW!! WHAT A BAG OF WIND!! CHUCKLE!! SO, HE'S YOUR REPRESENTATIVE!
HE'S NOT MY REPRESENTATIVE!! I DIDN'T VOTE FOR HIM!!
IN FACT, I DIDN'T VOTE AT ALL!!
—AND THAT, PAL—IS JUST WHY YOU'VE GOT HIM!! YOU CAN'T HAVE GOOD GOVERNMENT WITHOUT TAKING PART IN IT!!
REGISTER —AND— VOTE!!

Reprinted by permission of United Labor Committee of Massachusetts

In New York City and Westchester County registration will be from 5 p.m. to 10:30 p.m., Monday, Oct. 9 through Friday, Oct. 13. On Saturday, Oct. 14, it will be from 7 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. In Westchester County towns of under 5,000, registration is: Saturday, Oct. 7, 7 a.m. to 10 p.m.; Sat., Oct. 14, 1 to 10 p.m.

FARM

Stover wins in Iowa despite gang-up

THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION wants docile farm organizations that will not oppose its major policies, foreign or domestic. When the cold war turned hot in Korea, the national office of the National Farmers Union, till then opposed to U.S. foreign policy, endorsed U.S. intervention. Not all the membership followed; strongest holdout for peaceful solution of the Korean conflict and fulfilment of Administration promises to farmers was the Iowa Farmers Union, headed by tough, outspoken Fred W. Stover. On the last weekend in September the Iowa Farmers Union held its convention; it seemed a perfect time to "get" Stover.

Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.) led off in the Senate with a savage denunciation of Stover and a charge that communists had captured the Farmers Union. The Des Moines **Register** of the Cowles publishing empire pounded at him in daily page one attacks. NFU president James G. Patton obliged the paper with a specially-written anti-Stover feature article published the opening day of the convention. The organization's Washington lobbyist and a veteran organizer were sent to Iowa to line up opposition votes. Patton himself declined an invitation to attend but sent a message threatening to lift the state charer.

KOREA THE ISSUE: When the smoke of the three-day convention battle cleared away, Fred W. Stover was not only re-elected, but the organization's seven-member board, a majority of whom opposed Stover, was replaced by a new board consisting of county presidents.

Much of the battle was waged over the Korea issue. At one point the convention adopted, 90 to 85, a motion endorsing "the stand taken by the national Farmers Union on... resistance to Communist aggression in Korea." But when a major resolution on the subject was presented, calling for admission to the UN of the Chinese Peoples Government, an immediate truce in Korea, a hearing of North Korean representatives, establishment of a representative government there, and calling upon "our government to abandon the position that military force is the road to peace," it was adopted by a vote of 105 to 47.

SELL-OUT CHARGE: Some of the debate was acrimonious. One delegate complained that the national office had become a "tail to the Truman kite", accused Patton of having "sold out to the enemies of the Farmers Union." A national office representative took the floor to charge that there was "enough truth" in Sen. Bridges' attack "to be embarrassing." A delegate called him a "red-baiter," gave this answer:

> "In organization work, you are forced to keep on compromising in order to prove that you are not communistic. Unless a few organizations can maintain some kind of sanity, we all are going to end up like Hitler Germany."

On farm problems, the convention adopted resolutions for:

Full parity income for the family-sized farmer; adoption of the Brannan Farm Plan; creation of a state utilities commission in Iowa; opposition to any curtailment of civil liberties; separation of the Farm Bureau from the federal extension service; an excess profits tax retroactive to July 1, 1950.

WORRY, WORRY: For small U.S. farmers generally, the Korean war had brought many a worry.

The gap between farm costs and prices the farmer got was widening; still higher prices for farm machinery were forecast. The Dept. of Agriculture said there would be no general increase in farm production; acreage for wheat would be the same in 1951 as in 1950. To this it added:

> It appears doubtful that exports and military takings from the total food supply will have any more effect on food prices in 1950 than last year.

CALENDAR

New York-New Jersey

PROGRESSIVE PARTY ON THE AIR. Informative, penetrating discussion of the news by Katherine Van Orden. Every Mon., 8:45 p.m. Station WNJR, 1430 on the dial.

Chicago

RESERVE THIS DATE! Sat., Oct. 21, 72 E. 11th St., 8:15 p.m. A Symposium: "Psychiatry—Its Social Responsibilities." Dr. Joseph Furst of NYC and other noted psychiatrists. Auspices: Chicago Council ASP. Admission: $1.

PAGEANT FOR PEACE. Chicago's biggest cultural event in years! Club Metro Dancers, Jewish People's Chorus, YPI Dance and Choral Groups, Negro Church Choirs, DuBois Theatre Players. Also, Beautiful art exhibit. All for 85c.

Two performances: Sun., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. at Packinghouse Center, 4859 So. Wabash; Sun., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. at Peoples' Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago.

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General

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"ALL HONORABLE MEN"

This was Germany after Roosevelt died

By Cedric Belfrage

IN the third issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN (Nov. 1, 1948) James Martin described the torpedoing of what was humorously known as the Decartelization Branch of U.S. Military Government in Germany. After a game but losing battle with the representatives of U.S. banks and big business (themselves parts of the cartels) who swarmed into Germany in fancy uniforms to see that Roosevelt's cartel-smashing program was not carried out, Martin resigned as Decartelization Chief in 1947.

Now in his detailed story of what Roosevelt intended to happen when Germany was defeated, and of the bitter farce that **did** happen after FDR died, Martin has told for posterity how the greatest opportunity America ever had to serve humanity was lost. And he concludes:

> **We have to reassert public goals in the United States which will prevent the already apparent concentration of economic power in our own country from reaching the end it did in Germany. We cannot hope to end the concentration of economic power in Germany until we are able to deal with the concentration of economic power in the U.S.**

THE 100 MEN: In every one of us who was in Germany in the early 1945 days, when everything was possible and there was so much hope, Martin's account of his pilgrimage across the Rhine must rouse exciting memories. His was the most important mission of all, and the secrets he unearthed were the missing links in the story of what makes war and fascism. They were the secrets of less than 100 men who,

> **. . . sitting on the management boards of six large banks and 70 huge industrial combines and holding companies, controlled over two-thirds of Germany's industrial system.**

In the files of the International Steel Cartel in Luxembourg, he found evidence of the ties between major steel firms throughout the world and their working relations with Nazi industrialists. In the cellar of banker Baron von Schroeder's villa at Bonn, he found letters from Heinrich Himmler showing how Germany's big industrialists paid millions of reichsmarks into a "special account" to run the SS and Gestapo. Other hiding-places concealed evidence of how a steel tycoon like Friedrich Flick (recently released from jail by the U.S.) got unlimited slave labor from

concentration camps in return for the $40,000 a year he paid into Himmler's fund. I. G. Farben's files contained records of that vast concern's "concealment program" to hide German connections with apparently "domestic" affiliates in America and elsewhere. Papers at the Krupp family's Villa Huegel established plainly how the big corporations ran Hitler, not Hitler the corporations.

And everywhere was evidence of the German industrialists' preparations to carry on whether Germany won or lost the war — by setting up fake "foreign" companies in America and in neighboring neutral countries, by maintaining connections with U.S. associates through the OSS's Allen Dulles and the Bank for International Settlements in Switzerland.

MASS-MURDER FOR GOLD: Martin points out that at least $400,000,000 worth of German assets were spirited out of Germany before the war's end. They have never been traced but are presumably being used by ex-Nazi Germans now operating in Spain, Portugal, Argentina, etc. Emil Puhl, Reichsbank vice-president who converted the teeth fillings and jewelry of concentration-camp victims into a great part of this $400,000,000 fund, was paroled by the U.S. last year.

Soon after the Decartelization Branch began its work, the U.S. cartelists under Dillon Read-Morgan's William Draper were in Military Government's economic saddle. Loyal Roosevelt men, who harped on the criminal evidence against Germany's industrialists, were angrily silenced by Draper and the British Control Commissioner Sir Percy Mills who said: "What's wrong with them? They were not Nazis—they are businessmen."

Martin describes how Gen. Clay, then head of Military Government, for a time stood up for the directives against the Drapers—and then caved in, banging his fist on the table in a Berlin conference room and shouting: "I did not come here to be lectured on decartelization." The Roosevelt directives, so carefully worked out before D-Day and considered by FDR so vitally important, were scrapped in favor of the emphasis on "quick German recovery" which FDR had specifically vetoed.

WEEP FOR THE FALLEN: Martin's group were called "disloyal" for their loyalty—and

> **. . . What was emerging was a European economy dominated from a central hub of German heavy industry, with an outer ring of satellite areas supplying food, raw materials and light industrial products.**

In other words, America began using its military victory over Germany to do exactly what Hitler had tried, temporarily succeeded, and finally failed to do for the German industrialists. All the blood had been spilt in vain, and a new blood-bath was being prepared. Why? Because the big industrialists who really rule America—partners in crime of the big industrialists who really ruled Germany all along—saw greater profits that way.

Read Martin's story, and weep for the fallen in the war that failed—and learn what must be learned if our lot is not to be weeping without end, for wars without end in which none but these "honorable men" can win.

ALL HONORABLE MEN, by James Stewart Martin. Little, Brown. 326 pp. $3.50.

New York

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Inflation targets: suits, coats, fuel, shoes

THE BASIC NECESSITIES most likely to rise sharply in price in the next few months are woolen suits and coats, shoes, fuel oil, furniture and household appliances.

The price of raw wool has jumped 50% in Australia, where much of the world's supply of better-grade wools is produced. Manufacturers estimate suits will be $5-$6 higher this spring. If you need a suit this year, buy it before the price rise goes into effect, but don't overbuy.

SHOES: While some brands have already been raised 25 to 50 cents a pair, the real increases are still ahead. Boost just announced by manufacturers on spring lines indicates that shoes will be 10% higher after present stocks are replaced. Crepe-sole shoes are especially expensive now, and should be bypassed.

FUEL OIL: Increased demand and lower production create the possibility of a shortage this winter. Families who heat by oil would do well to fill home tanks now, not only to help avoid the shortage, but to beat the price rise that will certainly come with any shortage.

Least costly forms of food staples

TO keep food costs down, you not only have to watch for the best value in foods but which **form** of it is best buy. Here are two money-savers:

EGGS: Small and medium eggs are better buys than large ones at this season. Large eggs weigh 24 ounces to the dozen; mediums, 21. If the mediums are priced at 12½% less than the large ones, they're better value. **Right now they are 20-30% less.**

ORANGES: Frozen juice concentrate at this time is less costly than fresh Florida oranges. Here's a formula you can use: if a can of the concentrate is no more than three times the price of a dozen oranges, it's a better buy. At this time, concentrate is available at little more than twice the price of oranges. The usual six-ounce can of concentrate makes six four-ounce servings of juice, while a pound of medium-size oranges usually provides two four-ounce portions.

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DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS speaks for the ALP

This is the heart of the 1950 election campaign: 'There can be no progress without peace'

I HAVE lived to see the era of peace, which I was trained to look forward to as the only goal of civilization, transformed into plans for universal world war: a theory of progress by war and more war, each more savage and destructive than the last. I now realize that I, as well as you, am facing a crisis in which no consideration of ease or age suffices to hold me back from a great duty—to try to bring reason and past experience to bear upon a group of people gone temporarily insane.

The basic cause of this insanity is the effort of powerful interests, armed by control of press and radio, school and platform, backed by almost unlimited money, to turn the attention of the world from the fundamental problem of our age.

That problem is that **in our unprecedented organization of industry, with its marvelous technique and world-wide extent, the vast majority of mankind remain sick, ignorant and starved while a few have more income in goods and services than they can use.**

RUSSOPHOBIA: This is the basic problem of our culture, no matter how much we try to conceal and ignore it. We may be led to yell our heads off to convince ourselves that the problem of this world today is the Soviet Union and communism. That is deliberate deception. The problem of economic justice to working men existed before the Russian revolution and would remain if Russia were swept from the face of the earth tomorrow.

Proposals to solve this problem by socialism and communism did not originate in Russia and will not end there. What Russia did was to attempt to solve this problem in a systematic way, at a time when the 19th century had bequeathed to the world the dogma that the problem of economic justice was insoluble; that most men must always be poor, ignorant and sick, because most men were so inferior in gift and morals that this was inevitable; that civilization depended on making the few masters of the many, the Rich the rulers of the Poor, and thus in this way, and only in this way, could civilization be built and maintained.

THE GOLDEN CALF: Is this true? Whether it is true or not, we have no right to stop people and nations from denying the necessity of poverty, disease and ignorance, and from experimenting in their own way to make a better world. Moreover, our own clear duty is not to pull down others but rather to build ourselves up; to prove to the world that the economic condition of mankind can be bettered, that we know how to do this and propose to prove our belief by action.

Instead of this, what are we up to? We are trying to fight an Idea. We are going to make nations agree with us and our way of life by using atom bombs and jet planes, battleships and artillery.

Why? Why do we propose to make the Russian experiment fail, to throttle China and to throw the world into continuous war? The reason is clear: we fear that any success of socialism or communism will interfere with our money-making. **We have become a nation of money-makers. We think that money-making is the great end of man. Our whole ideology bows to this fantastic idea. Religion, science, art and morals in America tend to be measured by the profit they bring, and the true vocation of American manhood is regarded as profit-making business enterprise.**

HATE ONE ANOTHER: War is Big Business and a business immensely profitable to a few, but of measureless disaster and death of dreams to the many. Big business wants war in order to keep your mind off social reform; it would rather spend your taxes for atom bombs than for schools because in this way it makes more money; it would rather have your sons dying in Korea than studying in America and asking awkward questions. The system which it advocates depends on war and more war.

In order to have war, Big Business must have Hate; so its press and newspapers ask you to hate communists and if not communists, hate all who do not hate communists; indeed hate all who do not take orders from those who now rule America.

What has happened to the world is that those who profit from war, especially in the United States, have gained control of government, of information and propaganda. This came about because of the First World War, which we entered with reluctance and participated in mainly by furnishing materials at a huge profit to those who controlled them. The result was twofold: Americans conceived the idea of continuing to profit from the world's disaster and to move in as successor of the British Empire as ruler of most of mankind. On the other hand, Russia and other nations who had been through hell because of war began experiments for reforming, if not replacing, the current methods of industrial organization.

THE NEW DEAL: We joined the capitalists of the world to suppress their socialist experiments which threatened our plan of world industrial empire. However, just as plans were ripe for a mass attack, in particular on the Soviets, the bottom fell out of modern capitalist industry. This was no fault of Russia nor of socialism, but was directly due to the overreaching greed of private profits.

But no matter what its cause, the result was that the Soviet experiment got a breathing space while in the U.S. the New Deal was forced to adopt many socialist remedies for poverty, unemployment and disease. We curbed the profits of capital; we put the state into certain industries and adopted planned industry like the TVA; we relieved the unemployed, and we established Social Security.

In other words, the U.S. began to form and carry out its own plans for so reorganizing industry as to save capitalism wherever it deserved to be saved.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Here's another native insists on joining our expeditionary force. . . ."

CURB THE WILD MEN: Here the American Labor Party takes its stand as the successor of the New Deal. It maintains that the Soviet Union has a right to adopt its own economic philosophy and carry it out as it will. And that also the U.S. has a right to attempt to save its own way of life and that this can be done as the New Deal started to prove, when it was sabotaged not only by its enemies but more completely by its friends. **What the American Labor Party asserts is that the present plan of Big Business to compel the world to adopt our philosophy and our methods by force of arms is not only unreasonable in the light of our failures, but impossible in itself and can only end in disaster.**

It would seem that the futile efforts of a succession of "master races" to impose their will and power upon mankind would teach us that our program of world conquest is crazy. There is no possible chance for us to accomplish what Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, Great Britain and Hitler failed to do. Our military plans are idiotic and still more so if we depend on Germany and Japan to pull our chestnuts out of the fire. It will take more than one wild man of Tokyo to bring this fantasy to fact.

THE VOICE OF THE $: Moreover, we point out that the persons who are forcing us to adopt this policy of force and violence are the upholders of Big Business; and they are profiting as never before by war and preparation for war, and are deliberately blind to the fact that their profit is the disaster of America and the world.

Herbert Lehman was trained in Big Business and today deliberately represents its interests. Last year he called John Foster Dulles "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist." This year he welcomes Dulles into "bi-partisan" collaboration for war; sponsors legislation for concentration camps for Communists and those called Communists; ignores the restoration to power in Germany of the same gang which killed 6,000,00 Jews, and acquiesces to their re-arming.

Why? What has changed Mr. Lehman? He has not changed. He follows automatically his training in the same school which made Dulles a warmonger and attorney of the Nazis, and that is, foreign investment of American capital, so as to make enormous profit out of the poverty and helplessness of Asia and Africa. American capital is pouring into South Africa and Rhodesia. We are the real owners of serf-labor in the Belgian Congo. We are wild to have Chinese factory hands at 12c a day. We helped shoot down the black miners in West Africa. And to bulwark our investment and guarantee high profit, the power of business joins hands with the military.

MORGAN IS DRIVING: Thus, we are today ruled by Big Business and Big Brass for profit. A representative of the Steel Trust has been Secretary of State; a representative of Morgan and Rockefeller is chief adviser of Truman on foreign affairs; another Morgan man has been Under-secretary of State and will be second in command under Marshall. A Secretary of the Navy and Defense chief represented Dillon, Read and Company, and another became Secretary of War.

Where Big Business does not control government, men trained for war do. We have just reformed our defense department by placing a soldier at its head in defiance of sound tradition; his first word is universal training of our children for all-out war all over the earth, at a cost greater than we ever spent for education, health, housing and social uplift altogether. And for what? For profit to investors which is today piling up at the rate of $23,000,000,000 a year; with the prospect that the profit for 1950 will be four and a half times that of 1939, and twice as high as the enormous profit of 1944.

ONE PARTY, NO DEBATE: It is the theory of democratic government that when a situation like this arises, two political parties will examine, debate and dispute issues and acts until the people can make intelligent choice of the problems before them.

Today we have only one political party which shares power for the same ends. Men like Dewey and Hanley can only try to outdo what the Democrats have already done; if the Democrats are for war, they are for more war; if the Democrats repudiate the New Deal, the Republicans loathe and despise it.

The one point of agreement between the two so-called parties is war on any nation or movement which stands in the way of American profit; and suppression of all discussion of the merits of the present crisis. I try to spread in America news of the peace movement in Europe and I am threatened with jail. Paul Robeson advises Negroes never to fight against people who are striving for a better world for black and white, and he is denied the right to make a living.

THE RIGHT TO THINK: In this situation the American Labor Party takes its stand on the proposition, "There can be no progress without peace." We are the only nation in the civilized world advocating war and compelling other nations to fight. For this we are hated and feared. We call for the immediate settlement of the war in Korea, which an American soldier has characterized when he said, "I never saw such a useless damned war in all my life." Mediation with both North

Daily Worker, London

"Somethin's phony wiv' this spam."

and South in conference, and China represented in the United Nations, is the only solution. We ask resumption of the free flow of trade between east and west and the utter overthrow of colonialism even when masked under Point Four.

To stop this program of reason and progress, the allied and associated political profit-makers, called the Republican and Democratic parties, have adopted the last tactics of despair. They have made not only truth but civil rights a casualty of war. They have turned your attention from progress and peace to hate and fear. They are making it illegal to think of progress or to advocate peace or progress. Every path to reform like taxation of great wealth; effective rent control; river development and forest planning, are all called communistic or socialistic and their promoters threatened with disgrace, jail or loss of livelihood.

FIRM AGAINST TYRANNY: And now as a last exercise of tyranny, we are presented with the McCarran bill—the Fugitive Slave Law of 1950. You know what the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was: capital invested in human beings began to run away; foolish northerners, black and white, helped it hide. The Slave Power ruled the nation as Wall Street rules it today; they passed a bill that made kidnaping of any Negro possible without trial, that made a man prove his freedom instead of forcing masters to prove property; and tried to make anti-slavery opinion a crime. This law was so successful that in a decade it brought Civil War and slavery was abolished three years later.

So today, we are bidden to hate communism when what we must hate is war; we are called subversive when we try to think and act as human beings and not as puppets. If we attack segregation in the army or civil life, we are called traitors to America. Against this the American Labor Party protests and fights.

The above is the text of a statement made by Dr. DuBois opening the American Labor Party campaign in the 1950 elections.